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*Project Editor*

Eugenia Sokolinski

# Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies

An Introduction

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## 11. Syriac codicology (PGB–FBC–EBW)\*

### 11.1. Materials and tools (PGB–FBC)

#### 11.1.1. Papyrus

Syriac papyri are relatively rare and have come down to us only in a fragmentary condition (on papyri and all other materials, see Briquel-Chatonnet forthcoming). They are kept in various European libraries, in Berlin, Florence, Oslo, Oxford, and Vienna, having been collected from the end of the nineteenth century until the end of the twentieth (for a list, see Brashear 1998, 91 n. 24; updated by Butts 2011). The known surviving fragments—all apparently parts of codices—mostly originate from Egypt (from the monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai, and recently from Dayr al-Suryān (Bigoul El-Souriany – Van Rompay 2001), as well as from Kellis in the Dakhleh Oasis), but some were also discovered in Palestine (Khirbet Mird) in 1953; a single fragment kept in Berlin may be of Persian origin. As for the dating, where possible scholars resort to the archaeological context, as in the case of some fragments discovered in Syria, dating back to the second century CE; but in the great majority of cases, dating depends only on palaeographic criteria, according to which most Syriac papyri date from the sixth to the tenth centuries (Sauget 1985). The texts are of religious content, sometimes quoting, or paraphrasing, passages from the Bible. The content of the Kellis papyri is Manichaean (Franzmann – Gardner 1996; Franzmann 1999), and it is not clear if they derive from one codex or from several codices.

#### 11.1.2. Parchment

Several parchment fragments containing private writings and legal documents dating back to the third century CE were found in the 1930s at Dura Europos in eastern Syria. Of particular interest are two fragments studied and published by Teixidor (1990) and subsequently examined by Brock (1991a). The first of them, measuring 200 × 125 mm, bears traces of bending, pricking and seaming at the top, short edge. The content is legal, and the text, written on both the flesh and hair sides, is dated to 552 of the Seleucid Era (239/240 CE). The second fragment, measuring 250 × 150–160 mm and damaged, is an attestation of a sale of land and property. The informal cursive script is extremely difficult to read, but the text is dated to the fifth year of the reign of Emperor Gordian (242).

The oldest extant Syriac manuscript books are written on parchment, such as the oldest dated Syriac manuscript, London, BL, Add. 12150, dated 411. Specific studies on parchment used for Syriac manuscripts do not exist; scholars usually refer to the Coptic and/or Greek use of this material as a suitable and reasonable parallel (see for instance Meščerskaĵa 1987, 109–110). With the introduction of paper in the tenth century, the use of expensive parchment gradually decreased, being in the end restricted to texts of particular value and sometimes decorated and illustrated, such as Bibles and lectionaries. The most recent dated Syriac manuscript on parchment was written in the Near East (perhaps in Ṭūr ‘Abdīn) in 1567/1568 (Hatch 1946, 6, pl. 94: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Syr. 20 (Sachau 236)) and contains the *Hudrā*, hymns for the celebrations of the whole year. Already in the thirteenth century the use of paper had come to predominate. In the collection of dated Syriac manuscripts compiled by Hatch (1946, 6), among sixteen manuscripts written in the twelfth century, eleven are on parchment; but among the twenty-seven of the thirteenth century, only nine are on parchment. Two thirteenth-century parchment manuscripts deserve to be mentioned: both are large-size New Testament lectionaries, related to the monastery of Mor Hnanio (Dayr al-Za‘farān) and Mardin, both written by Bishop Theodore Dioscorus (Leroy [Jules] 1964, 371–389, pls 127–140). In more recent times (early seventeenth century), parchment was used in Rome to copy a Syriac manuscript: Florence, BML, Or. 47 (Eusebius of Caesarea’s *Letter to Carpian*, the Eusebian Canons, two *Genealogies* of Christ, and the *Doctrina Theophili*); copied by Rabban Adam, an envoy of the Nestorian patriarch, active in Rome from 1610 to 1614.

Palimpsests are numerous in the Syriac tradition (Schmidt [A.] 2009) and are an invaluable source of information because they preserve texts otherwise lost. Among the more important palimpsest manuscripts is the so-called *Codex Sinaiticus Syriacus* (Monastery of St Catherine), which dates back to the fourth century, containing the oldest extant copy of the Syriac Gospels according to the *Vetus Syra* translation, over which lives of saints and martyrs were copied in the eighth century (Bensly et al. 1894). Syriac palimpsests are interesting in a comparative perspective because they are evidence of contacts with other

\* The authors are grateful to Margherita Farina for her help in collecting material for the preparation of this chapter.

traditions of eastern Christianity; often the upper and lower layers are both in Syriac, but there are several cases in which the languages of the layers differ and the Syriac text is superimposed over Greek (for example, London, BL, Add. 17210; Add. 17211; Add. 14665; in St. Petersburg, RNB, Gr. no. CXIX, the opposite occurs), over Coptic (London, BL, Add. 14631; Add. 17183; Add. 14665), over Arabic (London, BL, Add. 17138), or over Latin (London, BL, Add. 17212). Recently (in 2003) a Greek fragment of Menander has been identified in palimpsest leaves of a Syriac manuscript in the Vatican Library (Vat. sir. 623, dated 886; van Lantschoot 1965, 151–153).

The oldest dated Syriac palimpsest, in which both texts are in Syriac, is also the oldest dated Syriac biblical manuscript. The upper text, a liturgy for major holidays, is written in western tenth-century *serṯā*, the lower layer being Isaiah in the Peshitta version, in *ʿeṣṯrangēlā*: the lower text on one of the leaves is dated to 459/460 (London, BL, Add. 14512; Tisserant 1911; Hatch 1946, 5).

Other important palimpsests preserve otherwise lost biblical translations and also secular texts. This is the case with the eleventh-century Melkite liturgical text copied over a Syriac translation from Greek of Galen's *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus*, probably by Sergius of Rešʿayna, dating perhaps from the ninth century.

Also double palimpsests exist, containing three layers of text, sometimes in different languages. Specimens are in London, BL, Add. 17212; Add. 17136; Add. 14665.

### 11.1.3. Paper

Scholars have not paid particular attention to the paper used for Syriac manuscripts. The only contribution that contains a systematic study in this field is by Nina Pigulevskaja (1960, 154–156; see also Meščerskaja 1987).

The oldest Syriac manuscript on paper is a dated copy of the *Book of the Himyarites* finished in April 932, transcribed in Qaryatēn (published by Moberg 1924).

The Syriac manuscripts produced in the Near East, the Levant, and, to some extent, in the Byzantine area, are written on paper that does not differ from that used for Islamic manuscripts.

From the fifteenth century onwards, watermarked paper produced in Italy begins to be attested in Syriac manuscripts. Comprehensive studies on the watermarks of Syriac manuscripts are nearly absent. Information about watermarks can be found in the catalogues, but in general without illustrations and almost always limited to brief descriptions.

The main reference for watermarks is even now the catalogue by Pigulevskaja (1960). According to her research, mainly on manuscripts preserved in Russia, above all in St Petersburg, watermarks in Syriac manuscripts from the late fifteenth century onwards point for the most part to paper of Italian, in many cases Venetian, production. The most frequently represented watermarks are: (1) an anchor in a circle (possibly topped with a trefoil, as in the case of Venetian paper of the late sixteenth century; in older paper, the anchor is topped by a star and a cross); (2) a crown topped by a star (Italian); (3) a pot with handle (French); (4) crescent moon, in two variants: (4a) three crescents (the so-called *tre lune* paper, produced in Italy for the Levant in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; this variously imitated and forged watermark can also be found at the beginning of the nineteenth century); and (4b) a single crescent (western France).

Syriac manuscripts produced in Italy in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, preserved mainly in Florence and Rome, show a wide sampling of well documented watermarks, including for example: (5) anchor ending in a ring, in a circle surmounted by star; (6) five-pointed crown, possibly topped by a star, a cross or a monogram M; (7) M monogram topped by a star in a coat of arms; (8) monogram F over three hills in a shield.

### 11.1.4. Other writing supports

Nothing is known about the use of any wax tablets in the Syriac tradition. As for wooden tablets, one single example is attested: Manichaean Syriac-Coptic glossaries are written on two wooden tablets of the fourth century found in Egypt, Dakhleh Oasis (Franzmann – Gardner 1996, 101–126).

Syriac *ostraca* were found in Mesopotamia (Kamil 1957; Hunter 1998) and Central Asia, in the old Sogdian city of Panjakent, now in Tajikistan (Pajkova – Maršak 1976; Pajkova 1979). The *ostraca* from Mesopotamia are dated from the fourth to the seventh centuries; Panjakent's *ostrakon* is dated on 'archaeological, historical and palaeographical' grounds to the late seventh or early eighth century. The text

reproduces some lines of two Psalms; some features of its spelling allow one to suppose that the piece was written as a school exercise by a Sogdian copyist with imperfect practice with the Syriac script.

### 11.1.5. Inks

Various recipes (see (Desreumaux forthcoming; Daccache – Desreumaux forthcoming) for the preparation of ink (Syriac *dyawtā* or *hebrā*, or *mayyā da-ḥrātā* ‘water of vitriol’) are handed down in annotations on Syriac manuscripts. The ink is usually a compound of gall nut (*‘apšā*) with the addition of vitriol (ferrous sulphate; Arabic/Syriac *zāk*), water and gum arabic (*šamgā ‘arabiyyā*) as a thickener (cf. the recipes in Wright 1870–1872, II, 580–581, London, BL, Add. 14632, two recipes in Syriac by two different hands; according to the first, which refers to the way the ‘Egyptian fathers, who live in the desert of Scetis’ prepare their ink, the bark of a desert plant (Arabic *arṭay*) may be used instead of gall nuts, and wine and vinegar are also employed as an additional tannic element; Wright 1870–1872, III, 1085, London, BL, Add. 14644, a recipe in Arabic and *garšūnī*, probably from the ninth century (Briquel-Chatonnet et al. 2006); Wright 1870–1872, III, 1207, London, BL, Arund. Or. 53; Wright 1870–1872, III, x–xi). Soot (Syriac *samāmā*) was also used (Land 1862, 58; Hatch 1946, 11).

### 11.1.6. Pigments and dyes

In a Syriac context, Ephrem the Syrian (d.373) seems to evoke the practice of dyeing parchment purple (*Parainesis* 48: *chartokokkina ergazē? Analogisai tous lōrotomous*, ‘Do you make coloured parchment? You are like a leather worker’). However, no Syriac parchments of this type are preserved, nor are they mentioned by other sources.

Recipes for silver and golden inks are found in treatises on alchemy/chemistry, in Syriac or Arabic *garšūnī* (Berthelot 1893, 203–205). Chrysography is documented by literary sources and by some splendid manuscripts (e.g. fig. 1.11.1). We know, for instance, of John of Mardin (d.1165), who wrote ‘four Gospels in gold and silver’ (Assemani 1721, 225), and of the Syriac-Orthodox patriarch Michael (1126–1199), who ‘did take care of the copy of a magnificent Gospel book written in gold and silver, and adorned with pictures; its cover was on both sides decorated with silver and gold’ (*Anonymi auctoris chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, ed. J.-B. Chabot 1954, 314–315). Specimens of such luxury Gospels dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries still exist (see Ch. 1 § 11.5.2); chrysography was adopted for writing certain passages to be read on the most important holidays of the liturgical calendar.

However, a single East Syriac witness to a different use of chrysography, MS Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 622, is a small book (180 × 130 mm) in which the four Gospels are written in golden ink on paper that was dyed blue. According to the colophon, it was finished in March 1298 for ‘Sarah ... sister of ... George ... king of the Öngayyē’. This information refers to a Central Asiatic region (today Inner Mongolia), inhabited in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by Turkic people called Önggüd. This unique example of Syriac chrysography could thus originate from Mongolia; but the location of the discovery (Diyarbakır), and other clues, does not exclude the possibility that the manuscript was produced in North Mesopotamia (Borbone 2003).

There are no written sources about the use of colours and pigments in the Syriac manuscript tradition. Observations confirm the use of red lead (*siriqōn*) in rubrications and decoration (see below). Yellow, green, purple, pink, black and brown are also widely used, but blue only very seldom.

On the occasion of preservation measures undertaken on a lectionary (London, BL, Add.



Fig. 1.11.1 London, BL, Rich. 7174, dated 1499, Four Gospels, ff. 94v-95r.

7170, paper, about 1220), some archaeometric analyses of the pigments were carried out (Clark – Gibbs 1998). The manuscript contains sixty miniatures, most of them seriously deteriorated. The damage affected in the first place the surfaces covered with white pigment, which turned black (Leroy [Jules] 1964, pl. 82:1, 83:1, 3), but also the ink that was used for a large part of the text had corroded the paper. The analysis revealed the presence of the following pigments: red–vermilion (mercury sulphide), which was also found in red ink; blue–lazarite (extract of lapis lazuli); yellow–orpiment; orange–yellow–realgar and para-realgar (the latter extremely rarely used); white–lead sulphite, in its pure form, and mixed with red, blue, purple and brown (the black compound, causing deterioration of the miniatures, was identified as lead carbonate).

### 11.1.7. Writing instruments

Information about the writing instruments used by Syrian copyists has been collected on the basis of some notes preserved in Syriac manuscripts (Duval 1881, 2–3; Hatch 1946, 23–24; Wright 1870–1872, III, xxvi; Land 1862, 56–58). The Syrian copyists used both the quill and the reed pen. The earliest mention of the former (*ʿebrā d-pāraḥtā*) is found in a manuscript dated 509 (London, BL, Add. 14542, f. 93v); a reference to the same instrument occurs in a marginal note in London, BL, Add. 17185, f. 61r: *nusāyā d-ḥeṣrā d-gelpānā* ‘quill test’. Land and Duval assume that the oldest Syriac manuscripts were written with quill pens. Wright suggests that Syriac references to quill pens are merely repetitions of Greek formulas, because in his opinion the Syriac copyists wrote only with reed pens. According to Land, the reed pen (*qanyā*) was not used before the twelfth century, but Hatch puts the date as early as the tenth or the eleventh century, referring to information in London, BL, Add. 17128, f. 180v. In any case, the reed pen was apparently known in Syria, as written evidence indicates: Isaac of Antioch, in the fifth century, speaks of the ‘Spirit’s reed’ (*qanyā d-ruḥā*), and in the ninth century, Thomas of Marga, the abbot of the monastery of Beth ‘Abe, describes a vision of a reed writing on the wall of his cell. The reed pen was already well known to Jews, Greeks, Copts, and Arabs. Some manuscripts from Central Asia and China could have been written with a brush, as was certainly the case for the Syro-Turkic inscriptions found in Inner Mongolia, Hohhot, in the ‘White Pagoda’ (Borbone 2013); cf. the bifolium in Dunhuang, Historical Museum, Mogao Ku B 53:14, and the fragment from Qara Qoto no. 123 (Yoshida – Chimeddorji 2008, 9; Muto 2013).

## 11.2. Book forms (PGB–FBC)

### 11.2.1. The roll and the rotulus

No horizontal rolls are known in the Syriac book tradition. The vertical roll form (also called ‘rotulus’) is not attested at the beginning of the Syriac book tradition, but it was adopted for certain uses later on, after the codex was already in general use. Thus there are large liturgical vertical rolls, mainly in the Melkite tradition, and small ones containing magical texts and charms. The oldest Syriac magical rolls date back to sixth or seventh century (Gignoux 1987), but most of them are quite recent (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) and of East Syriac provenance (as is the case of the rolls kept at Harvard and at Oxford (Goshen-Gottstein 1979; Hunter 1999, 161–172)). For both categories, both parchment and paper were used. Among the liturgical rolls, particular mention deserves to be made of the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom (Moscow, Institut Vostokovedeniija, Lichačev S. II, n. 3), and among magical rolls, Yerevan, Matenadaran, Collection of Manuscripts in Foreign Languages, 72 (a, b) (Meščerskaja 1987), and Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale Ceccano, 3858 (Lebanon, sixteenth century (Desreumaux – Gorea 2003), B16-17).

### 11.2.3. The codex

In Syriac, various terms indicate the codex and its parts. The codex is called *ṣḥāḥā*; the quire *kūrrāsā*; a single leaf *dappā* (the word also means ‘board’, ‘tablet’, and then ‘wooden altar/mensa’); two opposite pages of a book when it is open *ptāḥā* ‘opening’ (Wright 1870–1872, III, xxvi; Hatch 1946, 23–24).

## 11.3. The making of the codex (PGB–FBC)

The structure of the quires in Syriac books is remarkably uniform and stable over time, for all geographical areas in which Syriac manuscripts were produced. They are mainly composed of quinions, both of parchment and of paper (Mundell Mango 1991; Briquel-Chatonnet 1998b). The quires were made by stacking individual bifolia (usually five) and not by folding a sheet twice the size of a bifolium (or larger).

Syriac parchment books do not follow Gregory's Rule. Throughout the entire chronological span of production of Syriac manuscripts, small variations in the composition of the quires are documented: quaternions and senions are found. For example, the first two quires of Paris, BnF, Syriac 27 (699, parchment) are quaternions; Florence, BML, Or. 230 (1278, paper) is composed of 21 quinions, two senions and two quaternions. Manuscripts produced in Rome from the sixteenth century onwards are still composed of quinions, such as Florence, BML, Or. 2 and 3 (1606, respectively 39 and 27 quires, all quinions), but also of quaternions (for example, Florence, BML, Or. 4, of 1610/1611: 40 quires, 38 of which are quaternions, one a quinion and one a ternion).

A unique example of a Syriac manuscript written in the form of a Chinese book is Manchester, John Rylands Library, Syriac 4 (Peshitta Institute shelfmark: 18-8dt1; Coakley 1993, 120–123): it contains parts of the Old Testament Peshitta, copied not long before 1725 by a Chinese copyist, reproducing the Syriac script 'stroke for stroke so as to produce an exact facsimile' of a much older manuscript. Its leaves are folded, in Chinese fashion, at the fore-edge and are written only on the outer sides. Binding is by a cord through four stab-holes. The copyist reproduced also the quire numbers and their simple decoration, although they are unnecessary in this book form.

### 11.3.1. Pricking and ruling

Pricking is found applied in parchment manuscripts. Most frequently, the pricking is made at the four corners of the writing area, which may be laid out in two or three columns. Ruling is most frequently used only for the vertical bounding lines, and sometimes also for the top margin, or both top and bottom. Ruling is made by means of a sharply pointed instrument for parchment, with a blunt point or a plummet being used for paper and sometimes also for parchment. The leaves of very few manuscripts were ruled with ink. Only from the twelfth century onwards was ruling used also for the lines. For dated examples of pricking and ruling, see Mundell Mango 1991. The ruling board, called in Arabic *mistara*, was also used by Syrian copyists; examples date from as far back as the thirteenth century until modern time.

### 11.3.2. Ordering systems

#### *Quire signatures*

Numbering of quires is standard in Syriac books. The numbers are written on the first and the last page of each quire, in the bottom margin. A quire number in the upper margin never occurs, nor do bifolium signatures. Very often, the first quire of a book bears no number at the beginning, because the recto of the first leaf is left blank; in Syriac manuscripts, the text usually begins on the verso of the first leaf. In some of the oldest manuscripts (for example, Paris, BnF, Syriac 341 (eighth century?)), the quire numbering is a later addition. In some old manuscripts, the quire numbers are placed only at the beginning of a quire, in the bottom inner margin, as in Florence, BML, plut. 1.56 (Rabbula Gospels, 586), where the numbers are Syriac arithmetic numerals (for a list of such figures, see Land 1862, pl. 25, and Duval 1881, xv (pl. 3)), above which Syriac letters with the corresponding numeric values are written. This method is the most ancient device used for numbering quires. Over time, the use of letters with their numerical values completely supersedes the use of Syriac numerals, which are not found after the ninth century (Brock 2010a). At the same time, numbering both the beginning and the end of a quire becomes standard practice, with placement of the number at the centre of the bottom margin. Sometimes Armenian, Greek and Coptic letters are employed as quire numbers (Wright 1870–1872, III, xxvi; see also Hatch 1946, 23). Occasionally the quire numbers were written vertically (for example, Jerusalem, NLI, Or. 63 (tenth century?), f. 42v).

The script used for quire numbers very often changes, by the alternating use of different Syriac scripts, *serṭā* and *'eṣṭrangēlā*. But exceptions do occur: for instance, London, BL, Add. 14548 (790), f. 33r, beginning of the fourth quire, shows the numeral *d* = 4, in *'eṣṭrangēlā* script, written twice in the lower margin, once at the centre, and again to the right, the latter numeral being more prominently decorated (Tisserant 1914, xxiv and 28).

Headings, or running titles, are seldom used, but they appear already in the oldest manuscripts, such as the Rabbula Gospels, where they are written in red in the top margin of the verso of the fifth leaf (i.e. at the central opening of a quinion). In other cases, as in Florence, BML, Or. 230 (Bar 'Ebroyo's *'Awaṣar rōzē*, 1278), the rubricated headings are written in the top margin of all leaves on the recto. In this case they serve the needs of the reader, and were perhaps added after the copyist finished his work, either by him or by owners/users of the book.

Catchwords

The use of catchwords is not attested in older manuscripts; apparently, it first appears in sixteenth-century manuscripts copied in Europe (for example, Florence, BML, Or. 3, Or. 10, Or. 183, Or. 195 (written in 1585 by Moses of Şawro/of Mardin)). The catchwords are placed horizontally or obliquely, upwards or downwards, under the last text line, on the verso in the lower margin on the left side of the page, referring to the first word written on the facing recto (fig. 1.11.2). Some practices should be seen as the idiosyncratic initiative of the copyist, for example Moses of Şawro, who writes catchwords vertically (Florence, BML, Or. 185; Vatican City, BAV, Borg. sir. 60; also in Arabic manuscripts copied by Moses: see Vatican City, BAV, Vat. ar. 83). Later on, especially in manuscripts of the East Syriac tradition, the use of catchwords becomes quite frequent (see Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 653 (1820), and Vat. sir. 283 (nineteenth century?)).

Foliation, pagination, column numbering

Foliation began to be used quite late (for example, in the ‘Williams Manuscript’, written in 1471 in Hasankeyf: Hall 1886; now New York, Utica Public Library, 13501), where leaf numbers in Syriac letters are written in the top margin, perhaps added later), and never developed into pagination, except in very recent manuscripts. Complete foliation is often found in the frequently consulted manuscripts, such as those used in liturgy or in scholarly work, and was added by readers (for example, Florence, BML, Or. 230, finished in 1278, paginated with Arabic numerals in the sixteenth century by its owner, Patriarch Naʿmatallah (d.1587), who also wrote a table of contents on the recto of the first leaf, which had as usual been left blank).

A sign, which we may call the ‘quadruple-dots mark’, is commonly placed on the verso of each leaf, in the right-hand corner of the top margin, at the level of the first text line (fig. 1.11.2). Its form differs in the West Syriac and East Syriac traditions. Since the colour of the mark usually corresponds to the colour of the first words in the first text line, one may suggest that the mark was written by the copyist when making the copy. In the West Syriac tradition, the mark consists of four dots arranged in a lozenge. In the East Syriac tradition, the three upper dots of the lozenge are separated by a serpentine stroke; this element reveals that the marker is a stylized abbreviation of the divine name, ܝܫܘܥܝܗ (yh). The marker could also have a practical secondary function, namely the identification of the tops of the bifolia. Such a hypothesis would assume that the copyists wrote on quires that were already made up, but not yet sewn. The ‘quadruple-dots mark’ does not occur in all the Syriac manuscripts: some bear it only desultorily, in others it is entirely absent. It is found in the eighth century in London, BL, Add. 17170 (774/775), but it is absent in some seventh-century manuscripts (for example, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 111 (522), 110 and 114 (523), 112 (551), 113, (552); Florence, BML, plut. 1.56 (586)). Later on, this practice becomes widespread, but still there are recent manuscripts that are free of the mark, or nearly so (for example, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 165 (1663)). The fact that at times the ‘quadruple-dot-mark’ is written also on the recto, in the same position, and that in some manuscripts written in three columns per page it appears at the beginning of each column (as is the case in portions of Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 21 inf., seventh century) could suggest that it marks the beginning of a new work, as a kind of *basmala*.

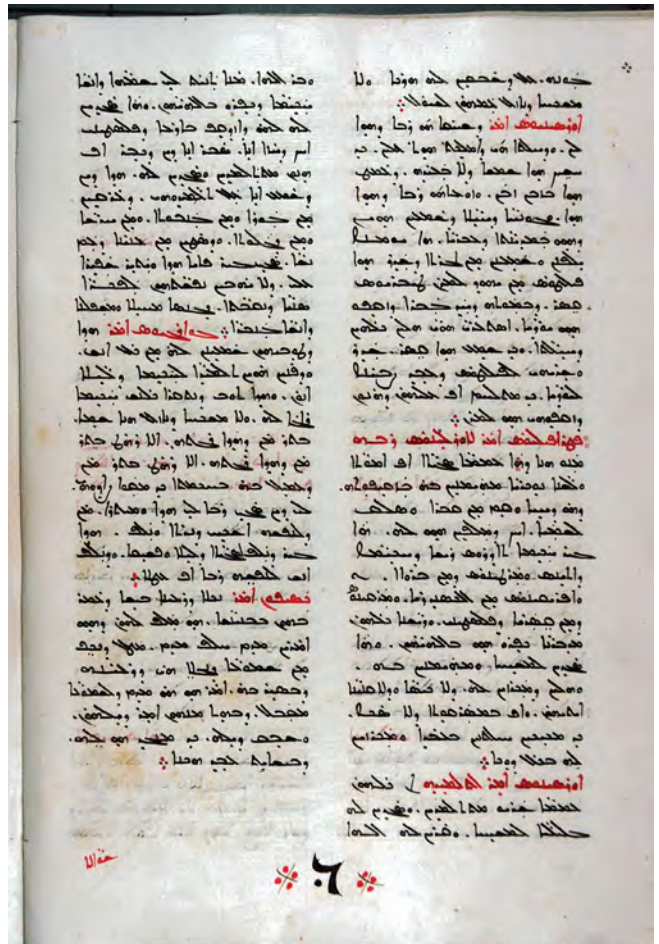


Fig. 1.11.2 Charfet, Bibliothèque patriarcale syro-catholique, Rahmani 79, 1901, f. 40v, courtesy of Bibliothèque patriarcale syro-catholique, Charfet, Lebanon.

## 11.4. The layout of the page (PGB–FBC)

The Syriac written tradition about book production is scant: we are able to mention only one reference to a book format. Patriarch Timothy I (780–823) mentions a ‘Nisibene format’ (*msuhtā nšībaytā*) when asking for a copy of the Syro-Hexapla (Berti 2009, 293). This format seems related to a book produced for use in the school, like that of Nisibis, or for scholarly use.

The common large format of Syriac parchment manuscripts is  $c.360 \times 280$  mm, which is the size of the oldest dated manuscript and the standard format for Gospel manuscripts of the sixth to eighth centuries. Only three dated parchment manuscripts copied before the twelfth century survive that are larger than this format: Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Syr. 701: East Syriac *Ṭeksē* (*d-qaššišā*), a liturgical book dated 719/720, measuring about  $430 \times 320$  mm; Jerusalem, St Mark’s Monastery, cod. 25,  $c.440 \times 300$  mm; London, BL, Add. 12165, dated 1015,  $410 \times 300$  mm (festal and other discourses by various authors). Such very large size parchment books of over  $400 \times 300$  mm reappear later, mostly as Gospel lectionaries measuring  $c.420/450 \times 320/350$  mm. In these luxury examples made for liturgical use and public display, the easily readable, large and sometimes decorated *’estrangēlā* script is combined with chrysography (see above). All these books pertain to the Syriac-Orthodox milieu. One lectionary, dated 1227, is still in the region of Ṭūr ‘Abdīn (reproduced in Brock et al. 2001, 184; Leroy [Jules] 1964, 411–413, pls 149, 1–3; and Hunt 2001). The most recent dated Syriac manuscript on parchment, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Sachau 236 (1567/1568), is also one of the largest, measuring  $440 \times 320$  mm; it is a liturgical book executed in a Syriac–Orthodox milieu. The use of very large Gospel lectionaries, lavishly decorated and partly chrysographic, was popular also in the Church of the East; some such books are preserved, dating back to the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. They are often labelled as ‘Gospel lectionary for the Sundays and the Holidays according to the ritual of Mosul’. They are written on paper, and their size is in some cases even larger than that of the Syriac-Orthodox lectionaries: Vatican City, BAV, Borg. sir. 169, sixteenth century (Leroy [Jules] 1964, 404–408, pl. 145), is  $570 \times 385$  mm; eleven similar manuscripts are listed by Leroy [Jules] 1964, 406, as preserved in Tell Kef, Alqoš, Rabban Hormizd, Notre-Dame des Semences, Aqra. One of them, in the church of Tell Kef, is described by Foumia 2013, 68.

Among a group of 354 Syriac manuscripts on parchment and paper, dated from the fifth to the sixteenth centuries, the majority (291) measure between about  $200 \times 130$  mm to about  $280 \times 200$  mm. As for the proportions, a ‘narrow’ format, characterized by a width slightly more than half the height, seems to be typical of the Mosul region (Bartelli, Bet Ḥudaida (Qaraqoşh)) in the thirteenth century (see Florence, BML, Or. 208,  $220 \times 120$  mm; Or. 230,  $210 \times 120$  mm; Dublin, Trinity College, MS 1504,  $240 \times 160$  mm; Cambridge, University Library, Add. 2003,  $232 \times 122$  mm).

Besides the East Syriac Gospel lectionaries already mentioned, and the manuscripts Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Huntington 1 (about  $540 \times 350$  mm), and Diyarbakır, Meryem Ana Syriac Orthodox Church 1/1 ( $475 \times 305$  mm), the largest manuscripts on paper are those written in Europe (Rome) in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (for example, Florence, BML, Or. 2 and 3 (1606; Bar Bahluls’ *Dictionary*),  $420 \times 275$  mm; Or. 4 (1610/1611, Syriac New Testament with *garšūnī* Arabic translation),  $420 \times 290$  mm). The standard size of the paper accessible in Rome, and the type of text, influenced the choice for these manuscripts of large *in folio* format.

Few dated small-size manuscripts (less than  $150 \times 110$  mm) are preserved, the oldest dating back to 883/884 (London, BL, Add. 18819,  $135 \times 96$  mm). Two others of about the same size, probably from the ninth century, are preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (Briquel-Chatonnet 1997 (manuscripts 389 B 7 and B 3)). In most cases, such small formats do not antedate the eleventh century. The very small ( $105 \times 70$  mm) format of a breviary in Florence (BML, Or. 436, written in 1554/1555 in Rome by the Maronite Bishop Šim’un) suits a type of book meant for private use quite well.

## 11.5. Text structure and readability (PGB–FBC–EBW)

### 11.5.1. Writing (PGB–FBC)

The oldest dated Syriac manuscript having the text in a single column was written in Mabbug in 510/511 (Hatch 1946, pl. 8). Previously, layouts in three or two columns were used. The three-column layout fell out of use and after the seventh century is found only very rarely (Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 177, twelfth or thirteenth century; London, BL, Add. 21580, 1478). Some very rare examples of four-column layout exist: Diyarbakır, Meryem Ana Syriac Orthodox Church 1/1 (miscellaneous: Bar ‘Ebroyo’s scholia, Old



Testament and New Testament, Clement's *Octateuch*, 1496), and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Huntington 1 (a collection of works by Bar 'Ebroyo, 1491); these two manuscripts are among the largest Syriac paper books, and it is striking that they were both produced in the 1490s, probably in the same region. The two-column layout is the standard for the large Four Gospels books of the sixth and seventh centuries. In some cases, the number of columns changes in the book, but such examples are quite rare (see Hatch 1946, 14; for example, London, BL, Add. 12151 (804) and Add. 21580 (1478)). The number of columns may change on a single page: in Florence, BML, Or. 298 (*Liber causae causarum*, ff. 105r–139r), in a text plainly copied in two columns, two pages are irregular, f. 105v (half of the page in one column, the rest in two) and f. 107r (a third of the page in one column, the second third in two columns, and the last third again in a single column).

Generally the text begins on the verso of the first leaf, the recto being left blank; at times, f. 1r is now filled with ownership notes, prayers, *probationes calami* and other notes of various kinds. A 'frontispiece' does not occur in Syriac books, where the work's title (and author) is mentioned among customary formulaic *incipits*. The text typology affects the structure and the layout of the page. Bilingual texts are written in two columns (for example, Florence, BML, Or. 86 (1278, Syriac translation by Bar 'Ebroyo of Avicenna's *Kitāb al-iṣārāt wa 'l-tanbīhāt*), where the Arabic text runs parallel in a column next to the Syriac version). An interesting case is the copy of Bar 'Ebroyo's *Metrical Grammar* in Florence, BML, Or. 298 (1360), where the main poetic text is written in the centre of the page, leaving wide margins for the author's scholia (in later manuscripts, the *Metrical Grammar* is copied in two neat and parallel columns). The antigraph was probably the author's copy, which the copyist decided to reproduce as faithfully as possible also in its layout. Melkisedeq of Hasankeyf had the same aim when he made a copy of a manuscript of the *Divisions of Porphyry's Isagoge* (copied by Moses of Şawro in 1585 and preserved in Florence, BML, Or. 209) as an exact facsimile (Florence, BML, Or. 458). One can also mention manuscripts containing chronographies (for example, Elias of Nisibis's) and chronicles, with parallel columns for ecclesiastical history, civil history and other events. A similar layout was applied in the manuscript of the *Chronicle* by Patriarch Michael the Great preserved in Aleppo and faithfully reproduced in Chabot's edition (1899; facsimile edition, Gregorios Y. Ibrahim 2009).

For poetic works, the strophes may be written continuously in a one- or two-column page layout or in a one-column layout where each verse occupies a separate line. In both cases, the beginning and the end of each verse is marked by a red dot, and red and black dots, respectively. Thus a page of poetry in one column may show, in the left margin, a vertical line of red dots, and in the right margin, a vertical line of alternating red and black dots (for example, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 174 (sixteenth century, some poems by Patriarch Nūh the Lebanese, Bar 'Ebroyo and 'Abdišo' of Nisibis)). An example of a continuously written poetic text is represented by Florence, BML, Or. 298 (poems by Bar 'Ebroyo). It should be noted that the one-column layout with alternating red and black dots is used also in regions as far from the centre of Syriac tradition as China: evidence is a bifolium from a Psalter recently found in Dunhuang (Gansu, China; Duan Qing 2000, 2001: Dunhuang, Historical Museum, Mogau Ku B 53:14). The paper and the script of the bifolium testify to a local production; the red dots appear at the end of each verse, and the letters are not elongated.

The persistence of the characteristics of the Syriac manuscript book even in remote areas far from the centres of the Syriac culture is remarkable: a manuscript written in South India (Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 22, copied in Craganore, 1301) does not differ in format and structure from the manuscripts written in Syria. The same is true of manuscripts produced in Central Asia, although since they are fragmentary, the similarities are mostly discernible only in the page layout, rubrics and decoration. One can observe that they conform to the standard established within the East Syriac tradition, but also follow scribal practices of West Syriac scriptoria (such as the above mentioned Mogau Ku B 53:14). In the matter of script, manuscripts written in Central Asia and China display a specific ductus, and particular shapes of some letters (such as *alaph*), that could be a result of the use of a brush instead of a reed pen. In more recent centuries, also in India the East Syriac script took on a specific *ductus*, a phenomenon that seems to be an autonomous development of the peculiarities of this script (Briquel-Chatonnet – Desreumaux 2010).

### 11.5.2. Decoration (EBW)

The elements embellishing the manuscripts belong to two categories, scribal decoration and painted (or drawn) decoration (Balicka-Witakowska forthcoming b). To the first group belong the elaborate script,

punctuation, attention marks, denotations and text dividers. They are highlighted by rubrication or coloured inks (figs. 1.11.1, 1.11.2) and turned into adornments by the addition of dots, dashes and small arabesques. The second group comprises the bands and squares filled with interlace and sometimes figural motifs, as well as the thematic miniatures (or drawings) usually with figural representations. Whether the miniatures are pure decoration or illustrations depends on their placement in the manuscript and relationship to textual content.

The common method for turning the script into ornamentation was to enlarge the normal characters, writing them in coloured inks and refining them by gilding or silvering. In some manuscripts, the letters emerge from a coloured background. Although initials do not exist in the Syriac script, often the beginning letters and their diacritics were stylized and ornamented (Balicka-Witakowska 1998).

Punctuation marks written with black and red inks often function as adornments, the simplest being single or double points, the more elaborate being rosettes. In several manuscripts, a black quadruple-dots-mark, customarily placed in the upper right corner of the recto pages, has evolved into a decoration composed of geometric and vegetal elements. The line-fillers are formed of red-black dots, strokes, small crosses, rosettes and tiny floral arabesques. Such adornments also flank the highlighted titles, elongating them from the inner to the outer margin and rounding out the final columns to the level of previous ones, thus retaining the visual balance of the page.

The common scribal decoration makes ornaments out of small text units, such as notes, comments and corrections. Outlined in a coloured ink, they are often furnished with floral appendages. Another way to enhance the decorativeness of the written text, usually applied for the ending pieces and final notes, is to form a text unit onto a geometrical figure and adorn it with scribal flourishes.

The numeration of text units, such as *incipits* and *desinits*, chapters, paragraphs, important verses and pericopes, has usually been converted into decoration. The numerals may be marked by coloured inks or gilding and additionally highlighted in decorative script and embellishments. The quire numbers too were often turned into ornamentation (fig. 1.11.2). The simplest examples combine dots, strokes, vegetal motifs and geometric figures, while more complex examples take the form of interlaced roundels, crosses and stars (for example, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Sachau 304, twelfth/thirteenth centuries, fig. 1.11.5). There are also quire-number decorations shaped as birds, fanciful quadrupeds or objects (London, BL, Add. 14601, ninth century; Diyarbakır, Patriarchate Library, now Meryem Ana Syriac Orthodox Church, 00083, written 1540).

The beginnings of text units or headings, written in decorative script, are often preceded by an interlaced band, square or rectangular. From the thirteenth century onwards, the main text sections were usually introduced by the so-called ‘gate-ornamentation’ shaped like an inverted U or a Greek Π. Very commonly, a miniature might serve as a heading. The text endings were also made clearly visible and aesthetically appealing. The closing sentences or even the whole last columns were highlighted by red ink and supplied by the decorative line- and column-fillers. Quite often, the very end of a longer text unit was written in the form of an inverted pyramid. Closing miniatures are not uncommon. As the heading and ending of the entire book there may be a full-page miniature of a cross or cruciform rosette presented within a frame. Miniatures of



Fig. 1.11.3 Kaslik, Ordre Libanais Maronite, 983, dated 1673, lectionary, f. 93r, detail.



Fig. 1.11.4 Dublin, Chester Beatty, Syr. 3, eleventh century, Four Gospels, ff. 2v–3r.

this kind were mainly used in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century lectionaries, where they also introduce the tables of lections (London, BL, Add. 7169, ff. 1v–2r, 14v–15r, 248r). The cross miniature has a variant called the ‘carpet-page’, containing a decoratively treated cross emerging from a background entirely covered by ornament (Diyarbakır, Meryem Ana Syriac Orthodox Church, 339, f. 9r, see also fig. 1.11.3).

The ‘indexes’ of readings from the Old and New Testaments for the liturgical year were customarily presented in ornamented tables and placed at the beginning of a manuscript. This system had developed as early as in the sixth century out of the simple list of readings put in grids and framed by stylized architectural elements (London, BL, Add. 14445). In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, particularly in the *de luxe* Gospels, it was replaced by sets of joined or interlaced geometrical figures.

According to a custom well documented in the east and west, the Eusebian Canon Tables were traditionally presented in grids drawn inside architectonic decorative frames imitating *aediculae*, flanked by plants, animals and birds. In Syriac manuscripts, the Canon Tables were most often displayed on nineteen pages and never ended with the so-called ‘tempietto-miniature’ typical for other traditions. This system, adopted for the Peshitta version about 450, was gradually abandoned after the seventh century, the last known examples dating to the eleventh century (Dublin, Chester Beatty, Syr. 3; see fig. 1.11.4). The most sumptuously decorated set, but at the same time exceptional, is preserved in the Rabbula Gospels: *aediculae* are surrounded by vases with flowers, plants, fountains, and several species of birds and quadrupeds. Scenes from the lives of biblical figures and of Christ are depicted in the inner and outer margins, and portraits of the evangelists accompany Canons VII and VIII.

Miniatures in Syriac manuscripts either occupy an entire page or share a page or bifolium with text and/or other miniatures. In the latter cases, the pictures may occupy the spaces within the text units and extend to the margins. The full-page miniatures, irrespective of whether they contain one or more scenes or figures, are presented within a frame that is either very simple or ornamented. Such miniatures were usually placed at the beginning and/or end of the manuscript, functioning as the sumptuous opening and closing of the book. Manuscripts with miniatures distributed throughout the text, situated near the textual episode they illustrate, are rare and relatively late; so, for example, in the thirteenth-century lectionaries: London, BL, Add. 7170 (48 miniatures); Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 559 (54 miniatures; de Jerphanion 1940) (on both see also Leroy [Jules] 1964, 280–320, pls 70–100); Jerusalem, St. Mark’s Monastery, cod. 28 (8 miniatures; Hatch 1931, 121–129). Most of the intertextual miniatures are framed, creating clearly visually independent entities which may serve as dividers of the text into sections. Their size was not determined by a disposition of a page or bifolium, but depended on the importance, for instance liturgical, of the illustrated text unit.



Fig. 1.11.5 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Sachau 304, thirteenth century, Four Gospels, f. 90v.

The miniatures distributed in the margins decorate a limited group of the manuscripts, primarily the Gospels with embellished Eusebian Canons (fig. 1.11.4). These miniatures, not framed, form instead a kind of frame for the adjoining text. Although related to the text, they do not function as illustrations. Strongly abbreviated, with figures and details kept to a minimum, they serve as pictorial bookmarks assisting the reader to locate particular passages of text (for example, the Gospels, Homs, Patriarchate Library, f. 244r, executed in 1054; Leroy [Jules] 1964, pl. 61.2).

The miniature may or may not be subordinated to the division of the text into columns. Consequently, on a page written in two columns, a miniature may extend from the inner to the outer margin (fig. 1.11.5) or be only as large as one column. There are also examples of miniatures simultaneously arranged horizontally and vertically (in the form of a reversed L), thus occupying unequal parts of two columns. Designed in this way, the pictures create for the beginning of text both a heading and a kind of frame (for example, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Sachau 304, f. 90v, thirteenth century; Leroy [Jules] 1964, pls 125.3, 126.3).

In some manuscripts, the miniatures with figural scenes (all or just a selection) do not follow the horizontal direction of reading, which is also the way the manuscript is bound, but are turned 90° (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Sachau

220) in some cases even 180° and 270° (London, BL, Or. 6673, written in 1802; Balicka-Witakowska 2008). A similar phenomenon appears in Manichaean manuscripts (Gulácsi 2005, 47). To date, no satisfactory explanation for this practice has been found.

In manuscripts with precisely planned page design, the pictures do not extend beyond the space defined by the text unit. In books made with less care, they may extend into the margins, the space between the columns, and be squeezed between the text sections or lines. All these shortcomings can be partly explained in economic terms: a wish to save valuable parchment and the lack of rich sponsors. The introduction of paper partly changed the situation, and the layout of the manuscripts written on paper, particularly recent ones, is generally better balanced than that of those on parchment (for example, the Gospels, Beth-Zabday, St. Mary, executed in 1851; Hollerweger 1999, 274).

Very little is known about the techniques practised by the painters of the manuscripts. Judging from unfinished pieces, the motifs were first sketched with ink and then covered with colours, often applied in layers (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Sachau 220, f. 43r; London, BL, Add. 7154, f. 2r, executed in 1203).

## 11.6. The scribe, the painter and the illuminator at work (PGB–FBC)

### 11.6.1. Persons, places and methods

Syriac manuscripts were produced in scriptoria connected to scholarly centres (Edessa, Nisibis), monasteries, towns or villages, usually by professional copyists who in ancient times (the last quotation is dated 817) sometimes called themselves an ‘Edessene scribe’, regardless of where they were in fact working.

The majority of the Syriac copyists were clergymen: priests, deacons, monks (at times also stylites—in the sense that the copyist *had been* a stylite). Scribal activity was considered to be a spiritual exercise

that also provided expiation of sins (for the copyist himself, for his relatives and for the patron). Several bishops devoted their time to copying books (for example, the Syriac Orthodox Patriarchs Michael the Great, d.1199, and Nūḥ, d.1509). In recent times, whole families have been involved in scribal activity, such as the Shikwana, numbering seven generations of copyists, from the late seventeenth to the twentieth century), and the Nasro, both from Alqoṣ. Few old manuscripts survive that are the work of a single copyist. Exceptions are three Old Testament manuscripts copied by the deacon Saba of Reš‘ayna between 724 and 726 (London, BL, Add. 14430 (724), Add. 12135 (726) and Add. 14428 (no date)). Female copyists were also active; for example, in 1701 a learned daughter of a priest copied the Maronite ordination services in a village in northern Lebanon.

In the colophons of manuscripts from the fifth and sixth centuries, the towns of Edessa (seven times), Mabbug (twice) and Amida (once) are named as the places where the manuscripts were written. Nisibis and Tell Dinawar (then in the Sassanian empire) appear in two colophons of the seventh century. Several manuscripts are related to monasteries the locations of which are mostly unknown. Edessa and other towns in Syria were the main places of production of the about 30 extant Syriac manuscripts dated from 650 to 900. In the eighth century, two manuscripts (dating to 760 and 768) were written in Egypt, but the first book copied in Dayr al-Suryān dates to 927. From the tenth century, some originate from the monasteries flourishing in the region of Malatya. It seems that the Monastery of the Syrians became a more important centre of manuscript production in the eleventh century, albeit extant eleventh- and twelfth-century Syriac manuscripts are not numerous. The situation changes for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the period called the ‘Syriac Renaissance’. Besides the manuscripts copied in the region of ‘the mountain of Edessa’, Upper Mesopotamia, books were also produced in Iran (Sigistan, Urmia, Maragha). Scribal activity took place also in the villages in the Mosul region (for example, Alqoṣ and Bartelli). After a cultural breakdown in the fourteenth century and in the first part of the fifteenth, an increase in production is noticed, mainly in Ṭūr ‘Abdīn. In the following century, several East Syriac monasteries are mentioned as places of book production: Mar Aha and Mar John the Egyptian (Gazarta); Mar Awgen (near Nisibis) and Mar Jacob the Recluse (near Siirt); Rabban Hormizd (near Alqoṣ); among the West Syriac centres, the monastery of Dayr al-Za‘farān flourished, and again the region of Ṭūr ‘Abdīn, which remained most productive in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. From the seventeenth century, the scribal activity of Alqoṣ is particularly extensive. Besides the Near East (to the places already mentioned, also Lebanon and Jerusalem should be added), Syriac manuscripts were produced in every place where the Syriac Churches were established (India, Central Asia, China), or where the presence of Syriac people aroused interest in their culture (for example, Italy and France, from the sixteenth century onwards).

Out of forty illuminated Syriac manuscripts listed by Brock (Brock et al. 2001, 240–241) and dating from 586 (the Rabbula Gospels) to 1851, twenty-nine are Gospels or Gospel lectionaries, two contain the Old and the New Testaments (Paris, BnF, Syriacque 341, and Cambridge, University Library, Oo.1.1.2), one the New Testament alone (Paris, BnF, Syriacque 30), while the remaining eight contain liturgical, homiletic and philological works. Quite another genre of illustration in Syriac manuscripts is represented by the images in small books of charms (Gollancz 1912; Balicka-Witakowska 2008 (London, BL, Or. 6673)).

It is unusual that a colophon mentions the manuscript painter, an exception being the thirteenth-century Gospel lectionary Paris, BnF, Syriacque 356, which contains a prayer for Īṣō‘, ‘who painted and wrote’. It seems thus that in some cases the copyist also decorated the book. Another important example is BnF, Syriacque 355, also a thirteenth-century Gospel lectionary, containing a long note (f. 1r) giving the full list of the images and attributing them to the deacon Joseph of Melitene. The note gives information also about the cost of this lavishly decorated book (quoted in French by Leroy [Jules] 1964, 272–273). A third example is Venice, BNM, Or. 60 (Cod. X in Assemani’s Catalogue (1787, 8), dated to 1572/1573), written by a copyist who worked in a monastery of Mount Athos: on f. 130v he says: ‘The miserable Yohanninos drew (or: painted, *ṣār*)’.

### 11.6.2. Colophons

Syriac copyists usually wrote a colophon after they had completed copying the text and customarily placed it at the end of the manuscript. Although numerous colophons are preserved (their number corresponding approximately to the number of dated Syriac manuscripts, see above), in the majority of manuscripts they are missing, due to their placement on the final leaves, which like the first leaves of a codex were easily lost. In general, the colophon is clearly separate from the main text: in old manuscripts, besides some

simple decorative lines between the text and the colophon, it was also distinguished by use of a different, smaller and/or cursive script, as in London, BL, Add 14542, copied in 509. The same phenomenon is observed in the Rabbula Gospels, from 586, where the large *'estrangēlā* of the Gospel text is coupled with a cursive script used for the colophon and the notes at the end of each Gospel. Otherwise, when the script of the main text does not differ from that of the colophon, the colophon is framed and/or has a rubricated beginning. At times the colophon is shaped as an inverted triangle, as in Arabic and Persian manuscripts (for example, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 282; Mundell Mango 1982; Briquel-Chatonnet 1998b).

Some colophons contain plenty of information about the book, the copyist, his milieu, donors, etc.; others state only the copyist's name (for example, Florence, BML, Or. 209, f. 19v: 'Finished. Moses, poor and a sinner, stranger in Rome'), or a date (for example, Paris, BnF, Syriac 377, indicating only the year, 2166 AG = 1854/1855 CE). The curses sometimes added to the colophons inform us about the perils the books might face: we learn, for instance, that it is forbidden to borrow a book from the library, or when the borrowed book is not returned, the borrower is put under the curse; a curse may also be put on users who rip out sheets, even blank ones. Some colophons mention the collation of the book against its antigraph, which may have been made by the copyist himself just after the transcription was finished, or sometime later by some other person.

The colophon begins with the verb *šlem* 'to finish, complete' ('Ended is [this book]' etc.), often followed by the mention of the help and the strength granted to the copyist by God. Similarly, an invocation may also open a book ('Through the strength of God, we begin to write'). The copyist often includes self-effacing comments about his own person, his unworthiness and lack of talent, and asks forgiveness for his mistakes. There are recurrent formulae adopted by the copyists, such as 'unworthy, priest/monk only by name, but not in deeds', the mechanical use of which at least once produced an interesting inversion, when the copyist Melkisedeq of Hasankeyf called himself 'a priest in deeds, but not by name' (Florence, BML, Or. 49, f. 13r). The copyist may write his name with the so-called 'Bardaisan's alphabet': for example, London, BL, Add. 14431 (the Old Testament Books of Samuel, copied before 545), where the name George, *gywrgy*, appears in the enigmatic form *zšdšzš* as encoded according to the correspondences of 'Bardaisan's alphabet' (see Duval 1881, 13).

A comprehensive collection of Syriac colophons does not exist, but the authors of catalogues of Syriac manuscripts mostly quote them *in extenso*.

A very interesting colophon from a comparative perspective is that of the manuscript Florence, BML, Or. 81 (a Persian *Diatessaron* written by a Jacobite copyist in Hasankeyf, in 1547, for the Armenian catholicos). The codicological features of this book combine Syriac and Armenian characteristics, in particular in the colophon's structure and content (Messina 1951; Piemontese 1989, 104–108). One can also mention the colophons of Paris, BnF, Syriac 51, and Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, 1, both copied in Jerusalem in 1138, which give comprehensive information about the situation of the eastern Christians in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and some important colophons of manuscripts originating from the monastery of Dayr al-Suryān (Van Rompay forthcoming).

### 11.6.3. Duration of copying

When they exist, notes written between two texts—a sort of 'intermediate colophon'—give information about when the first part of the book was finished and the next part began to be copied, thus indicating the duration of the copying. For example, the first part of Paris, BnF, Syriac 370 (96 leaves), was finished on 9 July, the second part (ff. 97–173) on 22 July, information which allow us to calculate that approximately six leaves per day were written. In Paris, BnF, Syriac 398 I, three such notes suggest an average of three or four leaves being written per day (Briquel-Chatonnet 1998a).

### 11.6.4. Dating systems

The most common dating system in Syriac manuscripts is the Seleucid Era, the beginning of which corresponds to 1 October 312 BCE, mostly designated as 'Greek', 'of the Greeks' (who may at times be qualified as 'blessed', 'crafty' or 'cursed') or 'of Greece', but also as 'Alexander's' or, less frequently, 'of Seleucus'. In fifth- and sixth-century manuscripts, other dating systems occur, for instance, local eras (of Antioch, of Apamea, of Bosra) and the 'indiction', borrowed from the Byzantine tradition (a fifteen-year tax cycle, still used, albeit very rarely, in that Arab period: the most recent example is dated 1177); in two manuscripts written in the Sassanian Empire, the regnal year of the king appears (Khusraw II, 591–628). Occasionally

the Era of the Martyrs, the Byzantine World Era (in the late Melkite manuscripts) or, the World Era of Adam are mentioned. In the Arab period, the Hegira Era is used (the era ‘of the Arabs/Muslims’ (*ṭayyāyē*)), most often accompanied by other dating systems (Brock 2005). The use of the Christian Era (*da-mšīhā*, *mšīhāyā* ‘of the Messiah’, ‘messianic’ (Kaufhold 2008)) is very late, used especially, but not only, in manuscripts produced in the west or for western patrons. In manuscripts written in Kerala, India, a local era called *kullam* (beginning in 824/825) is also found (for example, the manuscript Kottayam, SEERI, 8).

Dating according to several eras or concordances (sometimes wrong) also occur (Briquel-Chatonnet 1998a). The Rabbula Gospels are dated according to the Seleucid Era (897 AG) and the Indiction (fourth indiction). The manuscript Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 148 (of liturgical content), is dated according to three different eras, the third one being the Turkic calendar of the Cycle of the Twelve Animals. The colophon mentions the dates 30 *Tammuz* 1578 AG (1267 CE, July), *Dū 'l-qa 'da* 665 AH, and the ‘year the hare of the Mongols (Tatars), in the month called *itinč ai* (‘seventh month’ in Turkic)’. It must be pointed out that the words ‘hare’ and ‘seventh month’ are written by another hand, in spaces purposely left blank; perhaps the copyist, unsure about the exotic date, or unable to write the Turkic words correctly, asked for help from somebody.

### 11.7. Bookbinding (EBW)

The available information on Syriac bindings is scant, practically restricted to two contributions dealing with the Armenian book and using Syriac examples (ninety-six Syriac manuscripts from fourteen different collections) as comparative material (Merian 1993 and 1998), except for a first study on Syriac bookbinding with special reference to the collection of manuscripts of Charfet, Lebanon, Library of the Syro-Catholic Patriarchate (Dergham – Vinourd forthcoming). Information can be found in manuscript catalogues, but in general they do not give detailed descriptions of bindings.

As a rule, no old, original Syriac binding is preserved in western collections, where the manuscripts were mostly bound anew upon their arrival. For instance, in the relatively small collection of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence (seventy manuscripts), only one manuscript shows an original binding (sixteenth century?), while about ten were bound in the sixteenth century (in the Levant, with ‘Islamic’ bindings); the rest of the collection received a standard western full-parchment binding in the eighteenth century. About thirty manuscripts with Syriac bindings are found in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France: one-third of them date from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, for example, Syriaque 438 (see the *e-ktope* database at <<http://www.mss-syriaques.org>>). But there are exceptions: portions survive of the original binding of London, BL, Add. 17124 and Or. 8729, dated to 1230 and written in Edessa and probably also bound there.

Several manuscripts preserved in Near Eastern libraries (for example, Baghdad, Library of the Archbishopric of the Church of the East, or Charfet, Lebanon, Library of the Syro-Catholic Patriarchate) and in India (Thrissur) are still in their old bindings.

In Syriac binding, the wooden boards (of variable thickness, from 4 to 10 mm, and cut with a vertical grain) prepared for sewing were supplied with one drilling for each sewing station, all fully visible on both sides of the boards. The text block was sewn separately, probably with an unsupported link-stitch sewing, then it was securely attached to the wooden boards, using a cord wound into the holes in the boards. After the text block was attached to the boards, the spine was lined with a piece of cloth (either cotton or linen). The spine lining covered one-third to one-half of the wooden boards, onto which it was pasted. Quite frequently, multiple



Fig. 1.11.6 Jerusalem, Biblioteca Generale della Custodia di Terra Santa, Syr. 6, seventeenth century.

layers of cloth were pasted on (so in the majority of manuscripts examined by Merian). The end bands were raised, with the tie-downs attached to holes drilled into the boards. The book was next covered with leather and might be left plain or blind-tooled (so Paris, BnF, Syriac 438 (Maronite Missal, eighteenth century)), or the leather cover might be decorated in relief, obtained by inserting moulded cords between the wooden board and the leather (so Thrissur, Syr. 76, with a mixture of relief and blind-tooled decoration). In some cases, instead of the leather cover a cloth cover, multicoloured or monochrome, is used (so Diyarbakır, Meryem Ana Syriac Orthodox Church, 99; 8/19 (1477); 60; 1/28 (1583); Paris, BnF, Syriac 377 (nineteenth century)). The inside boards were sometimes lined with cloth (so Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 622: red cotton cloth).

Apparently in the nineteenth century, perhaps under the influence of the Armenian communities (see Ch. 1 § 3.7), some manuscripts, mostly highly valued liturgical books that were placed on display for the congregation, were supplied with metal, decorated covers. Such a cover is a revetment of the original binding, added either to an old manuscript or to a newly produced one. In most cases, these covers are silver plaques, fastened to the front and to the back cover by small nails and held together by a metal spine and metal clasps at the front. The plaques were decorated with a variety of motifs (both aniconic and figural) executed by means of different techniques: repoussé reliefs, gilding, chasing, filigree and cloisonné work. Usually they are special donations ordered from silversmiths and occasionally commemorated by inscriptions added to the decoration. Some good examples are to be found in Tūr 'Abdīn, around the Midyat region, which was known for its silversmith craftsmanship (for example, the Gospels of Invardi, Habsus, Hah, Beth Sbirino: Hollerweger 1999, 122, 137, 168, 257). In the same way, two white metal plaques bearing inscriptions were attached to the old binding of Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 622, in 1950, when the book was sent as a gift to Pope Pius XII by the Chaldean Patriarch of Babylon, Joseph VII Ghanima.

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